

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

USIA-15 IO-13 ACDA-19 RSR-01 /127 W

----- 084486

P R 141623Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6832

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 11594

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, GW, BU, CZ

SUBJECT: FRG'S OSTPOLITIK RUNNING INTO SNAGS

1. SUMMARY. THE FRG HAD HOPED TO HAVE ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRAGUE, SOFIA AND BUDAPEST WRAPPED UP WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHED WITH ALL THREE CAPITALS. THE FEW REMAINING PROBLEMS CENTERED ON THE HANDLING OF WEST BERLIN BUT THE FRG FONOFF WAS HOPEFUL THESE WOULD BE OVERCOME SATISFACTORILY. THE FRG-CZECH TALKS IN PRAGUE ON AUGUST 9-10 RESULTED IN AN IMPASSE ON CERTAIN BERLIN QUESTIONS, HOWEVER, AND THE BULGARIANS HAVE ALSO TAKEN A STIFF STANCE ON A BERLIN ISSUE. IT IS EXPECTED THAT BLOC SOLIDARITY IN THIS AREA WILL ALSO BE SHOWN BY THE HUNGARIANS IN THEIR CURRENT

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TALKS IN BONN. AS A RESULT OF THE HARDENING OF THE EE'S

POSITION, WHICH THE FONOFF FEELS IS COMING FROM SOVIET/GDR PRESSURE, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT NOW SEES ITSELF IN SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES WITH ITS OSTPOLITIK JUST WHEN IT THOUGHT THE POLICY WAS REACHING A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION. WE TEND TO CONSIDER THAT THE FRG IS OVER-REACTING SOMEWHAT TO TEMPORARY DIFFICULTIES, BUT THE OVER-REACTION IS NONETHELESS REAL AND IS LEADING THE FRG TO TRY TO BRING THE ALLIES INTO THE STRUGGLE (BONN 11578). END SUMMARY.

2. BY THE FIRST DAYS OF AUGUST, THE FRG FONOFF WAS ALREADY PLANNING TO HAVE FONMIN SCHEEL TRAVEL TO BULGARIA FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (BONN 11125); CHANCELLOR BRANDT WAS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TO GO TO PRAGUE ON SEPTEMBER 6-7 TO SIGN THE FRG-CZECH TREATY ON NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS. AND IT WAS FULLY EXPECTED THAT THE FRG-HUNGARIAN TALKS NOW UNDER WAY IN BONN WOULD LEAD TO A SPEEDY SETTLEMENT OF THE VERY FEW OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS SO THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS COULD ALSO TAKE PLACE QUICKLY.

3. THE RELATIVE OPTIMISM OF THE GERMANS HAS PRACTICALLY VANISHED IN THE PAST FEW DAYS. FIRST OF ALL, THE BULGARIANS LET IT BE KNOWN THAT WHILE THEY COULD ACCEPT MOST OF THE FRG DEMANDS (PARA 1, BONN 11125), THEY WERE UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE PROPOSAL COVERING WEST BERLIN.

4. JUST ABOUT THE SAME TIME, FRG FONOFF STATE SECRETARY FRANK WENT TO PRAGUE (AUGUST 9-10) AND FOUND THE CZECHS TAKING A SIMILARLY NEGATIVE LINE ON THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE MATTER. THE CZECHS ARE ALSO BEING DIFFICULT ON EXTENDING THE COVERAGE OF THE LETTERS ON HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS (PARA 3(A) AND (B), BONN 7882), SEEMINGLY HAVING BACKED AWAY FROM THEIR PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT OF MAY TO SUCH COVERAGE. THE FONOFF EXPECTS THAT THE HUNGARIANS, TOO, WILL CREATE PROBLEMS OVER THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE/WEST BERLIN QUESTION.

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5. THE FONOFF IS OF THE VIEW THAT THE EE STANCE IS A COORDINATED ONE, ARISING IN ALL LIKELIHOOD FROM PRESSURES FROM THE SOVIETS AND/OR EAST GERMANS. STATE SECRETARY FRANK ALLUDED TO THE LEGAL ASSISTANCE PROBLEM IN TV INTERVIEWS ON AUGUST 13 AND NOTED THAT CLARIFICATION OUGHT TO BE OBTAINED FROM THE FOUR POWERS WHO NEGOTIATED THE BERLIN AGREEMENT SINCE THE LATTER WAS INVOLVED IN THE DIFFICULTIES WITH THE CZECHS.

6. A FRG FONOFF CONTACT TOLD US INFORMALLY AUGUST 14 THAT THE FONOFF WOULD BE APPROACHING THE THREE ALLIES IN THE BONN GROUP LATER THAT DAY TO MAKE A MORE FORMAL INQUIRY AS TO THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE "CONSULAR SERVICES" RUBRIC OF THE QA AND TO INQUIRE WHETHER SOME CLARIFICATION OF THE MATTER MIGHT NOT BE SOUGHT BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE SOVIETS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 11594

7. IN THE MEANTIME, THE GERMANS ARE BEGINNING TO MAKE THREATENING NOISES ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE BRANDT-SCHEEL VISITS BEING POSTPONED UNTIL ALL PROBLEMS ARE CLEARED UP. THE FONOFF CZECH DESK OFFICER TOLD US

AUGUST 14 THAT CZECH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER GOETZ IS DUE IN BONN ON AUGUST 20 FOR FURTHER TALKS WITH FRANK. IF THESE DO NOT PRODUCE SATISFACTION FOR THE FRG SIDE, OUR SOURCE THOUGHT THE BRANDT VISIT TO PRAGUE WOULD BE PUT OFF. HE SAID THIS WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE THE CASE FOR SCHEEL'S TRIP TO BULGARIA IF THERE WERE NO PROGRESS WITH SOFIA EITHER.

COMMENT. EMBASSY'S VIEWS ON THE DESIRABILITY OF THE ALLIES' GETTING INVOLVED WITH THE SOVIETS OVER THE BERLIN PROBLEM ARE CONTAINED IN SEPTEL. OUR GENERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AT THIS POINT IS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RATHER UNWISELY PUT ITSELF UNDER TIME PRESSURE IN THE VARIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BY FIXING ON DATES FOR CHANCELLOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS BEFORE ALL PROBLEMS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE CLEARED UP. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS REACTING SHARPLY, IN OUR OPINION, NOW THAT IT SEES THAT SOME TOUGH BARGAINING MAY STILL LIE AHEAD.

8. WE ARE INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT IF THE FRG TAKES A FIRM POSITION, THE CZECHS, BULGARIANS AND HUNGARIANS WILL EVENTUALLY COME AROUND. THEY, AFTER ALL, WOULD APPEAR TO DESIRE A MORE NORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG. IN THE MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL PROBABLY GO THROUGH A PERIOD OF HAND-WRINGING AND UNCERTAINTY DURING WHICH THE THREE WESTERN POWERS WILL HAVE TO PLAY THE ROLE OF THE REASSURING AND COMFORTING ALLIES.

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## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** garlanwa  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
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**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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